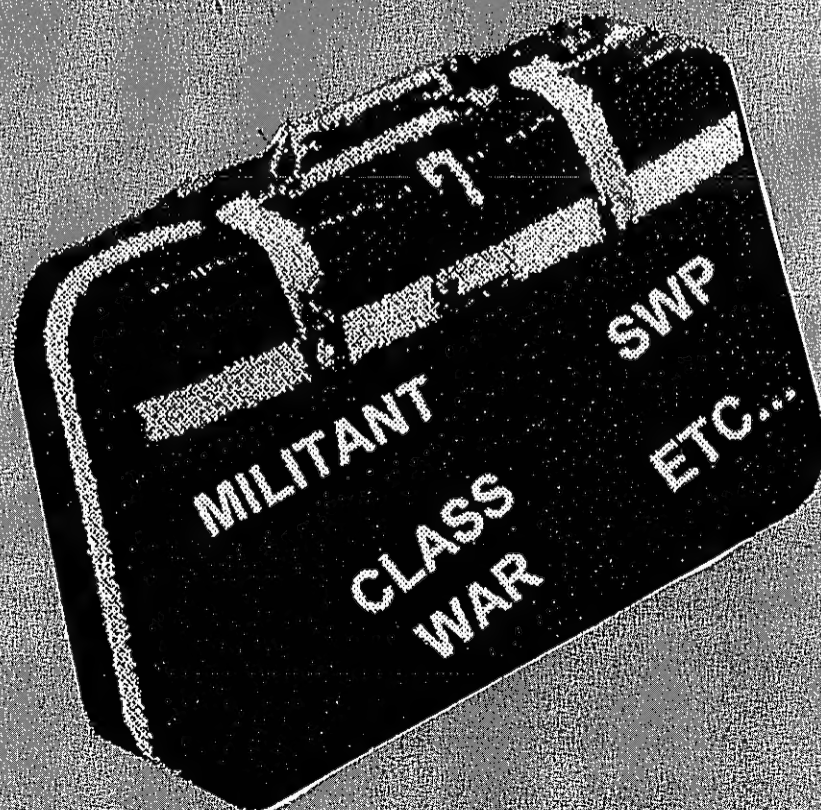


FIGHTING TALK

Issue 17

Price £1.50

LEFT LUGGAGE



**Anti-Fascist
Action**

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AFA are on the Internet

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APPEAL FOR INFORMATION

WE URGE ALL OUR READERS TO SEND ANY INFORMATION ON FASCISTS IN THEIR AREA DIRECT TO AFA. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO GUARANTEE THE MILITANT ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT HAS THE NECESSARY INFORMATION TO SUCCESSFULLY BEAT THE FASCISTS.

JOIN AFA

In the fight against fascism in Britain, Anti-Fascist Action has a record that is second to none. Our unique combination of physical confrontation and ideological struggle has produced results time and again.

We say no platform for fascists - no meetings, no marches, no paper sales, no leafleting - and we mean it, as the fascists know only too well. Our aim is to cause the maximum disruption to fascist activities.

But that doesn't mean that AFA only needs street-fighters. Far from it. Everyone has a role to play in AFA, whether they feel confident in physical confrontations or not.

None of our successes in physically confronting the fascists would have been possible without the contribution of non-combatants. From legal observers to scouts, from leafleters to people who can write articles or speak at meetings, AFA needs people with a whole range of skills if it is to continue to succeed.

There's a lot to do, so don't wait around. Join today.

Contact your local group for affiliation rates and activities.

AFA CONTACTS

MIDLANDS AND WALES	Cardiff AFA c/o Wolverhampton AFA	Edinburgh AFA PO Box 421 Edinburgh EH11 1QD	SCOTLAND
	Birmingham AFA PO Box 3311 25 Howard Road East Birmingham B13 ORZ	Glasgow AFA PO Box 797, Glasgow G1 5JF	
	Leicester AFA PO Box 320, Leicester LE1 5WS	Brighton AFA c/o London AFA	THE SOUTH
	Nottingham AFA PO Box 192, Nottingham NG1 1FJ	Bristol AFA PO Box 1076 Bristol BS99 1WF	
	Wolverhampton AFA c/o PO Box 3311 25 Howard Road East Birmingham B13 ORZ	Colchester AFA c/o PO Box 87 Ipswich IP4 4JQ	
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	North East AFA PO Box 1TA Newcastle NE99 1TA	Oxford AFA PO Box 854 Oxford OX1 3US	
	Preston AFA c/o Liverpool AFA	Southampton AFA c/o London AFA	
	Sheffield AFA c/o Huddersfield	Surrey AFA c/o London AFA	
	Wigan AFA PO Box 17 Wigan WN6 7FD	AFA (Ireland) PO Box 3355 Dublin 7 Ireland	



IN THE AREA

Welcome to Issue 17 of Fighting Talk, and we start with our usual round up of news and views from the front line against fascism.

While the General Election is analysed elsewhere in the magazine, we are pleased to inform our readers that in at least two places the fascists encountered physical opposition at the election count. In Glasgow, AFA members infiltrated the count and confronted the British National Party. More serious trouble was only avoided when the police escorted the fascists out of the building. The media, as usual, misunderstood the events on the evening and assumed the aggressive group was the BNP. In fact it was AFA, but once again the liberal 'fascism equals violence' interpretation prevailed so militant anti-fascism is air-brushed out of history. Here we reprint the AFA press statement issued after the clash, which none of the papers bothered to carry.

"Anti-Fascist Action claims full responsibility for disrupting the General Election count in Glasgow's SECC on 1st May. Around 25 members of the fascist BNP were inside the Exhibition Centre and were intent on a flag-waving, seig-heiling, publicity stunt when the votes of their candidates in Govan and Shettleston were announced. AFA members infiltrated the count and we physically ensured that the BNP did not achieve their aims. Some of the BNP members ended up nursing sore heads as a result of our activities.

AFA will not tolerate fascists in our communities. They use racism, bigotry and sectarianism as a means of dividing working class people. During the general election campaign AFA members were involved in clashes with the BNP in the Penilee area of Glasgow, where they have apparently established a strong base of support. We are giving the BNP notice that we intend to seek out every nest of fascist activity in Scotland and destroy it.

AFA would like to express our thanks to our comrades from the Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) who assisted members of AFA in gaining entry to the count. We would also like to express our

appreciation of those SSA members who assisted us in our activity against the BNP inside the count.

With Labour now in government, the fascists, as they have stated in their own pre-election publications, will expect to build on the disillusionment that will inevitably set in later when Labour fails to deliver. Hopefully in Scotland there will emerge a strong and progressive working class movement that can provide an alternative to the anti-working class politics of fascism."

Moving south to Bristol, the BNP stood 2 candidates. As one of their candidates, Peter Hart (from London), was leaving the count with his minders an AFA stewards group appeared. While the candidate legged it other members of the Master Race screamed for police assistance but all to no avail as the stewards group explained the finer points of 'No Platform'.

This successful confrontation followed a series of highly successful benefit gigs, raves and socials that not only swelled funds but generated much interest from old and new contacts, so Bristol AFA was in formidable shape to take on all local fash activity leading up to and beyond the general election.

The BNP stood two candidates in the Bristol North West and Kingswood areas of the city. Bristol AFA mobilised their resources and spent the four weeks leading up to the election distributing thousands of leaflets, culminating in a Day of Action with support from other branches where more leaflets were distributed and the day was rounded off by yet another highly successful benefit gig involving various DJs from Bristol and South Wales.

A successful campaign at all levels resulting in the BNP achieving no electoral gain and probably losing much confidence not only on the street but in the battle for hearts and minds.

In Taunton AFA supporters conducted another leafletting campaign on working class estates where local fash had been concentrating their activities. As in Bristol a lot of interest in AFA was generated

resulting in a number of new contacts. Useful information was obtained regarding the fascists' plans for the future, which AFA will monitor with interest.

While we're on the subject of elections we noticed this interesting quote from a Socialist Party (Militant) councillor regarding the Uxbridge by-election (29/7/97). "We put a lot of time and effort into combating racism and we were able to defeat the fascist parties." One problem though, the Socialist Party polled 259 votes while the BNP got 205, the National Democrats 157 and the NF 110. That adds up to the Socialist Party 259 - Fascists 472. Some defeat!

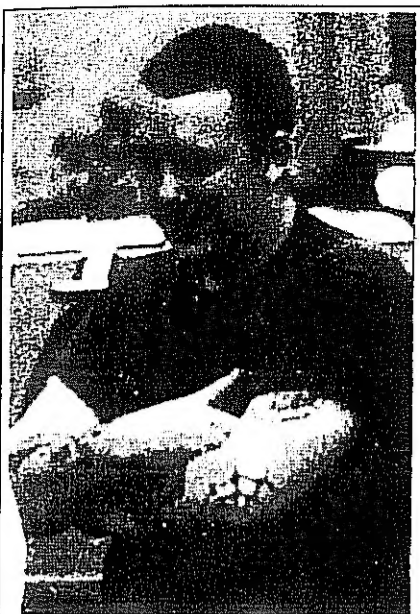
In Nottingham the AFA group was involved in organising a benefit gig with Sham 69 back in April. There was always a likelihood of a dodgy element turning up, and sure enough they did. A minibus load of fascists from various parts of the Midlands arrived in full regalia and decided to pretend it wasn't an AFA gig. This unlikely situation lasted only briefly before reality was reintroduced to the proceedings and the fascists were 'removed' in the traditional manner. A while later some of them returned to a pub they had been using earlier in the evening and asked for "somewhere safe to sit" while they waited for a cab to take them back to Coventry. (This incident was reported in the May edition of Searchlight, who 'carelessly' forgot to mention it was AFA involved.)

RACE THUGS IN SCUFFLES AS SARWAR GETS GOVAN

Police surround BNP mob



Actually they were on the receiving end (see above)



Wilcox

Up in Oldham four leading C18 activists got sent down at the end of July for distributing racist material with intent to stir up racial hatred. Kevin Gough, Andrew Roughley and Jonathon Hill all got 4 months and Jason 'Big Jay' Wilcox got an extra 2 months for possession of a stun gun. Since their arrest there has

been a dramatic decrease in the amount of racist stickers and graffiti.

Anti-fascists will be familiar with Andy Carmichael, a prominent fascist in the West Midlands first with the NF and then the National Democrats. What wasn't widely known, according to the Sunday Times (27/7/97), is that he was also a fully paid up MI5 agent. The Sunday Times story says Carmichael (as an MI5 agent) infiltrated the Referendum Party while still in the National Democrats (ND) and foiled a ND plot to prevent all the candidates for the Referendum Party in the West Midlands from being registered. But why run this story now? Could it be the real reason was so they could mention that Carmichael had been made redundant by MI5 now because it had "decided to wind down its operations against all extreme political parties". The Sunday Times claims the reason is because Carmichael, an active Tory when recruited as a spook, is looking for "political rehabilitation". It will be interesting to see where the 'rehabilitated' Mr. Carmichael surfaces.

Another odious creature who has come to our attention is David Irving, the Beast of Mayfair. Over in the States for the

massive Book Expo in Chicago at the beginning of June he was spotted running a stall promoting his work on the first day of the event. A little bird tells us that his stall and books were redecorated with black paint that evening - causing business to 'fall off' slightly for the rest of the Book Expo!

And finally, please note these changes of address. Wigan AFA can now be contacted at PO Box 17, Wigan, WN6 7FD, and Sheffield AFA can be reached c/o Huddersfield AFA.



New stickers: Three designs available from Bristol AFA at £1.00 for 50.

ALL OUR YESTERDAYS



The following story appeared 21 years ago in the East London Advertiser on 12th November, 1976, and is another example of the tradition of militant anti-fascism that we are illustrating from old newspaper stories.

RACE-HATE VIOLENCE EXPLODES

The March That Ended In A Bloody Street Battle

Bethnal Green became a battleground on Sunday when anti-fascist demonstrators clashed with members of the extreme right wing National Front in a street battle that ended with more than a dozen police officers injured and 24 people being arrested.

Fighting began when a march organised by the anti-Racist Committee of Asians in East London

reached the junction of Brick Lane and Bethnal Green Road where a group of National Front supporters were waiting.

As the 400-plus marchers passed by eggs, stones and other missiles were hurled at them, from the jeering group.

Police had cordoned off the National Front group, which comprised mainly teenagers, but as the marchers reached them they began to throw missiles and shout obscene abuse.

Then a group of marchers burst through the police cordon and attacked the National Front supporters.

For several minutes fists and boots flew in a battle between the

two groups. In the middle dozens of police fought to restore order and part them.

One police officer, Dennis Ryan, was savagely kicked in the groin. As he collapsed he was kicked on the head. At least a dozen other police officers were injured in the fighting ... and when it was all over members of both groups complained bitterly about police action.

Mr. Frank Berry, chairman of the East London branch of the National Front, accused them of failing to protect members of his group.



Leading National Front "teenager" Derek Day.

NO BLACKS, NO DOGS, NO IRISH

*"Refugee Rapists on the Rampage"
"Scroungers plotting to Flood Ireland"
"Refugee Hooker Runs Vice Ring"*

The above headlines are not from an extreme right hate sheet but are examples of coverage from mainstream Irish newspapers, both tabloid and broadsheet, in May and June of this year. A climate of hysteria has been whipped up in Ireland as politicians and the media jumped on the bandwagon during the recent general election, claiming that thousands of refugees are 'flooding into Ireland'. About 1,200 refugees arrived in Ireland in the first five months of 1997, mainly from Eastern Europe and African countries. Refugees seeking asylum in Ireland are not allowed to work while waiting for their application to be processed. They are housed by the social services in cheap guesthouses, usually located in inner city working class areas. The presence of refugees in these areas has been used by politicians of all the main parties to deflect attention away from their failure to address poverty and homelessness among Irish people.

Colm McGrath, a Fianna Fail candidate in Tallaght (where some estates have over 70% unemployment) issued a leaflet claiming that refugees were 'milking the system' and the then Labour Minister for Foreign Affairs, Joan Burton, promised that "once the Refugee Bill is in force...we'll be putting people back on planes again". In Germany anti-immigrant racism fuelled the growth of nazi gangs in the early '90s. German and French nazis forced their governments into introducing anti-immigration legislation; in Ireland 'mainstream' politicians are whipping up racism without any nazis to prompt them.

The acceptance of much of the hysteria surrounding the refugees is ironic, given Ireland's history of famine and emigration. For generations millions of Irish people have emigrated to Britain, America and Australia. Many of these Irish immigrants suffered racism and discrimination. Today every Irish family has relations living abroad, for example over 10% of the population of London is

of Irish descent. AFA's current leaflet, titled *No Blacks, No Dogs, NO IRISH*, focuses on the racism experienced by Irish people abroad and on the hypocrisy of politicians and media in blaming refugees for homelessness, unemployment and poverty.

The hysteria whipped up by the media and politicians has made the expression of racist views more 'acceptable' among the general public. Comments of the 'send them back' and 'scrounger' variety are commonly heard. AFA in Ireland is currently engaged in activity to dispel the myths and lies about refugees and to counter the rise in racism. There is no organised fascist group here but isolated fascists do exist. Anti-immigration candidates with fascist views ran in Cork and Dublin in the recent election. Aine Ni Chonaill, who ran in Cork South West, claimed to represent the 'Immigration Control Platform' and campaigned against all immigration to Ireland, she supports an 'Ireland for the Irish'. She stated *"I value the level of homogeneity we had in this country...I don't want us to end up with cities like Bradford and Notting Hill...Political asylum is not a*

human right" and that *"Multi-Culturalism is one of the greatest heresies of the 20th century"*. In Dublin South Central Dean O Nuallain also ran on an anti-refugee platform. While both these candidates received tiny votes what is significant is that they ran at all, nobody has stood for election on a racist platform in Ireland before now.

In recent years there has been a steady increase in racist graffiti and a number of racist attacks. Recently a guesthouse used by refugees was firebombed and a mosque suffered an arson attack. This type of racist attack is unprecedented in Ireland and marks a serious escalation of racism against refugees. AFA is currently investigating these attacks and monitoring all racist incidents, we are determined that no organised racist or fascist group is allowed to develop here.

In June AFA held an organisational meeting in Dublin with the aim of activating what had previously operated only as a network in Ireland. The attendance was good and since then a number of leafleting and posterling events have been held. We have leafleted areas where racist graffiti has appeared and the evening after the fire at the Mosque we leafleted it's immediate neighbourhood on the South Circular Road. AFA literature was distributed, with very positive responses, at the annual Republican Commemoration in Bodenstown and at the Dublin Gay Pride march. Fundraisers and gigs are planned for the coming months. Anyone interested in getting involved, or who has information on racist activity, should contact AFA at PO Box 3355, Dublin 7.

NEWS OF THE WORLD
OUR VIEW
Slam the door on spongers
THE scandal of the benefit scroungers is the talk in every home, church and pub in Ireland. Everyone knows more and more that these foreigners are costing the country anything...
On the one hand we need to be sure that we are not taking the wrong people in. We need an automatic system. It is to be said that simply walk up at social hands held or Irish ports more stringent officials must tag into Ireland. If they are as good as nothing must be stopped prevented from...
And if they are here and there, their return trip tickets and not to that will ensure the cash for their hands of the state.

MYSTERY EXPLOSION SETS HOUSE ON BLAZE
They call us a soft touch

SCROUNGERS PLOTTING TO FLOOD IRELAND

Bigotry in motion

Cork South West
Vote No. 1
Aine Ni Chonaill
(Immigration Control Platform)

UNDER FALSE PRETENCES

The appearance of a leaflet advertising a 'Forum on Europe' to set up an anti-nazi resistance throughout Europe has raised concern among militant anti-fascists as to the motives of the organisers. Though the leaflet is being put out under the name of the Anti Nazi League it is evident that others, including the magazine Searchlight, are behind the operation.

Searchlight is an opponent of AFA and people feel that the sole purpose of the 'Forum on Europe' is a wrecking operation to sabotage a genuine militant anti-fascist conference to be held in London less than two weeks later. The AFA initiative has been widely promoted since the beginning of January 1997. So far there have been 36 enquiries, mainly from Europe.

While the timing could be coincidental or simple sectarianism, militant anti-fascist suspicions were alerted by the political tone, language and stance of the leaflet, all implausibly at odds with the position of the ANL whose name it has been put out in. For this reason militants argue that this is not merely some sectarian manoeuvre to thwart a rival but that the initiative is entirely bogus. The ANL has recently closed down its office and sacked its full timers, so in effect the ANL either as a campaign organisation or a recruitment front for the SWP no longer exists. Drumming up business, recruitment or jumping on bandwagons cannot be the motive if the ANL itself no longer has any operational capacity.

Therefore the incorporation word for word of the AFA founding statement in ANL propaganda can only have the intention of causing confusion particularly as the ANL opposes not only AFA but also the very principle of "confronting the fascists physically and ideologically". They regard the tactic as counter-productive and its proponents as being little better than the fascists themselves. Furthermore the 'Forum on Europe' leaflet argues that in "Britain Nazi organisations wait in the wings to build on the despair and the demoralisation they believe the Labour

government will lead to ... The ANL has organised this forum to bring together anti-nazi resistance to learn lessons for the struggle that lies ahead for us in Britain."

The SWP/ANL is a loyal supporter of the Labour Party. Does it believe that a party it supported in the General Election a few months ago will cause the level of "despair and demoralisation" that could lead to a significant fascist renaissance? Evidently not, so why draw up imaginary battle lines against a non-existent foe? The ANL leaflet also speaks of "the struggle that lies ahead" at the same time as making changes that will leave the ANL existing in name only. The leaflet also claims that "thousands have taken to the streets in towns across France to challenge ideologically and physically Le Pen". The sole example they cite of this "physical and ideological opposition" to the nazis in Europe was a demonstration in Strasbourg in April which was entirely pacifistic in nature. It was even sponsored by the town's mayor!

In addition, the Reflex column in the July edition of Searchlight admits that the Strasbourg demonstration "did nothing to prevent" the substantial rise in electoral support for the FN in the region. Indeed the vote for the FN jumped considerably in the elections that followed shortly afterwards. Are we being asked to believe

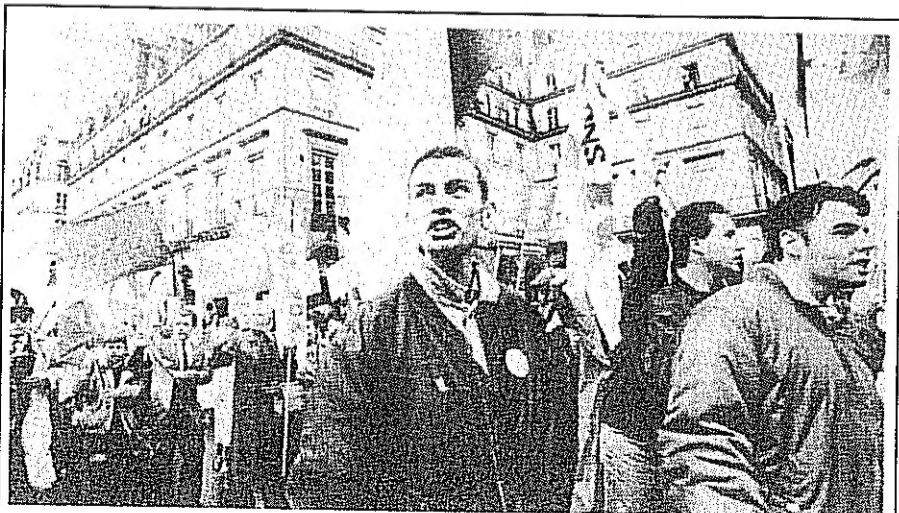
that the ANL initiative is genuine when it is being launched on the back of an event that failed even on its own terms?

Out of mutual interest Searchlight and the ANL have recently joined forces conducting joint political stalls at events and so on. The ANL is also now the main distributor of the Searchlight magazine. So each will be fully aware of the others thinking in regard to the 'Forum on Europe' initiative.

The ANL cites the Strasbourg demonstration as the way forward for the anti-fascist movement, while the ANL's partner publicly acknowledges that it was a total washout. Obviously if a 50,000 strong demonstration made no impact on the FN organisationally or electorally, then perhaps the cross-class mindset behind such a strategy is itself inherently flawed. It is the obvious conclusion, but also one that neither the ANL or Searchlight are willing to address. Indeed it seems they are now attempting to prevent others addressing the question either.

The entire affair smacks of a dirty tricks operation. Incorporating the AFA founding statement into ANL propaganda can only be designed to deliberately cause confusion among anti-fascists in Europe as to the nature of the event and the identity of its sponsors. Arranging the 'Forum' just 2 weeks earlier is prone to cause further confusion among genuine anti-fascists but is primarily aimed at spiking Press interest in the AFA initiative over here.

Searchlight's links with the security services are well documented and not even denied. The ANL also cultivates a reciprocal relationship with the police on the ground. All three - State, Searchlight, ANL - have a mutual interest in seeing militant anti-fascism isolated and outflanked. Searchlight have long



The Front National - their success is an indication of the failure of the ANL/Searchlight approach.

adopted an entryist approach to AFA, at the same time as callers to Searchlight are told AFA no longer exists. Through its contacts in the media, the ANL has sought to airbrush AFA out of existence, even claiming responsibility for events such as Waterloo, and so on. The deployment of an extra 300 TSG officers to protect a small Loyalist UVF march in April last year and the rounding up and illegal photographing of 80 AFA activists throughout the day is a small example of the scrutiny militant anti-fascism is constantly under from the State.

Indeed, the militant anti-fascist conference has been partly called in response to the success of the joint campaign and it appears the 'Forum on Europe' initiative is evidence of them getting their retaliation in first. The Far Right on the continent is growing unchecked (a) as a direct result of the political and social conditions harvested by nominally Socialist administrations, and (b) by the compound failure of a cross-class/State collaborationist

strategy championed by supporters of the same administrations. The strategy that has failed most spectacularly in France is what Searchlight and the ANL both in Europe and domestically continue to proclaim is the ideal solution.

Anti-fascism is an honourable tradition. But it is also the harshest of political arenas. There are no prizes for coming second. Here more than anywhere else it is not the taking part but only the winning that counts. And beating the fascists is what AFA does best, as the Far Right themselves confirm. While that remains our primary motivation it is evident that adversaries a little closer to home are also set on a course of confrontation with militant anti-fascism. Looking at the bigger picture and considering what's at stake our opponents should not be surprised if we rise to the challenge as we see fit.

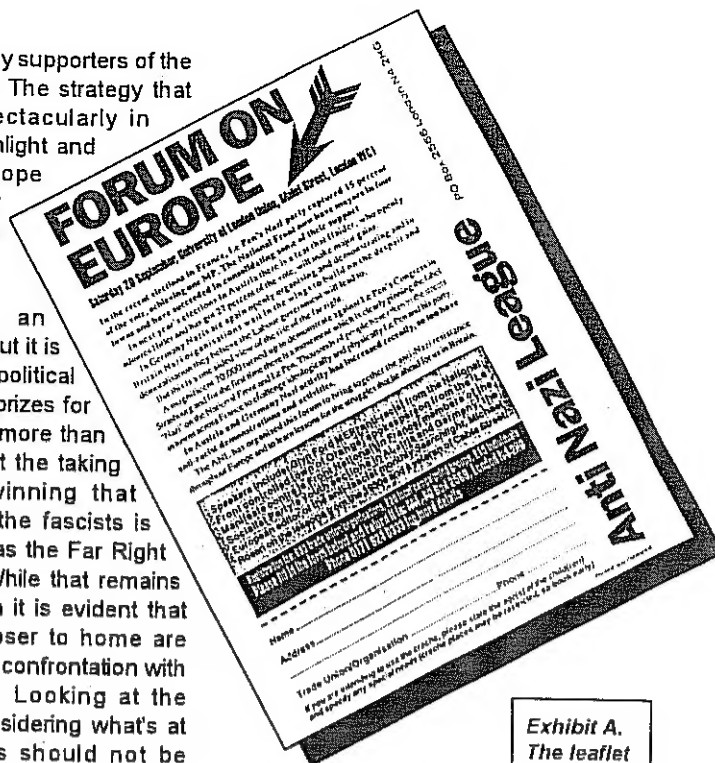


Exhibit A.
The leaflet
advertising
the "forum".

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE ★★ OF CABLE STREET ★★

RALLY

including speakers from Europe and North America

Sunday 5th October, 4pm - Admission Free

Camden Irish Centre
52 Camden Square
London NW1

AFA BENEFIT

SKABOOM - RED LONDON

Saturday 4th October, 8pm - Tickets £5/£4 concs

Venue as above



FORBIDDEN HISTORY



Recently, German Anti-Fascists have been faced with a substantial growth in fascist street activity. In the Spring and Summer of 1997 nearly every weekend saw a march of 100 and more fascists somewhere in Germany. This new fascist self-confidence began to develop this March in Munich, after an exhibition challenging myths around the involvement of the "regular" German Soldier in the Nazi extermination programme, led to a successful counter attack by a Right Wing coalition, culminating in a 5,000 strong fascist demonstration.

The exhibition, *War of Extermination. Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941 to 1944*, documents with lots of photos, letters, postcards and military reports the Nazi-

German kind of warfare in the occupied countries like Poland or the USSR. The exhibition makes the point that the SS was not the only 'criminal' organization but many units of the Wehrmacht ('regular' German forces) took part in the war against the civilian population in eastern Europe. *War of Extermination* is a touring exhibition organized by the Hamburg Institute for Social Research. This institute was founded by Jan Phillip Reemtsma, a millionaire and heir of an important German tobacco combine.

Munich was not the first town where the exhibition was shown but the first town where an alliance of right wing conservatives, old Nazis, servicemen's organizations, and organized fascists took up the campaign for the "honour of the German soldier". In German

historiography the Wehrmacht was considered innocent for the crimes of the Nazis. But without the technical support of the average soldier, the SS would not have been able to execute the extermination policy. They needed lorries, they needed petrol and soldiers to cordon off areas. The exhibition throws into doubt the myth that the Wehrmacht was just a regular army, the suggestion is 'Silent Partner' at the very least. For many Germans, especially elderly people, this is a personal attack on their own history.

This became the theme for an election campaign. The German federal state of Bavaria is governed by the CSU (Christian Social Union) but its capital Munich is governed by the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany). The

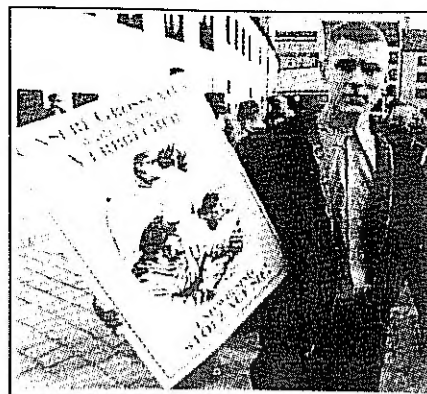
CSU is the right wing sister party of the German government party the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), the party of chancellor Helmut Kohl, and is also present in the German government. The CSU party organ Bavaria Courier wrote that the Left with this exhibition were leading an "extermination campaign against the German people". A professor of the Highschool of the German Federal Armed Forces in Munich talked of an "attempt on the honour of the German soldier". And the Munich CSU leader Peter Gauweiler said, "Instead of offending men in their honour, Mr. Reemtsma should better make an exhibition about the victims of tobacco".

Given this background, it is easy to see that the fascists were handed a great opportunity to make serious gains. Under the leadership of the NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) and its youth organization JN (Young National Democrats) protests were called against the opening of the exhibition in Munich. After the bans against different Nazi organizations in 1992 and a change in the policy of the Young National Democrats (JN) and the NPD, these organizations took over many of the cadres of the banned groups. At the moment the JN has the leadership of the biggest part of the young militant fascists in Germany. The call to the demonstration with the motto

"Our grandfathers are no criminals" was accepted by 5,000 fascists, in the secure knowledge that they would not have problems with the Bavarian police.

At first the CSU also wanted to go on the streets, but when they saw who was organising the march they restricted themselves to a ceremonial laying of a wreath at the monument of the unknown soldier - 'proper' democrats would not march on the streets together with Nazis (for the time being anyway). Many of the fascists travelled to Munich on chartered coaches. In Halle/Saale in eastern Germany four of the coaches were attacked by autonomous anti-fascists - two of these forced to make the return journey. In Berlin three drivers refused to drive the Nazis. But at midday on the 1st March 1997 you could still count more than 4,000 fascists on St. Jacob's Place in Munich. At the same time 10,000 anti-fascists and trade-unionists demonstrated against the Nazi march in the city of Munich. They occupied the place in front of the town hall where the fascists planned to have their final rally.

The fascist march went ahead without serious incident and was stopped by a cordon of police a few hundred metres away from the place where they had wanted to have their rally. The fascists had to hear their speakers in a small street and were disturbed by hundreds of



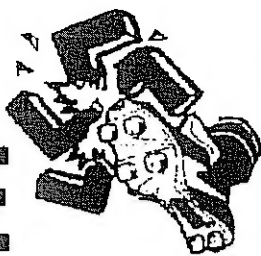
anti-fascists, who threw eggs and tried to attack them. But these attacks were very unorganized and in the end maybe it was better for the anti-fascists that they had no chance to reach the fascists. Many of the latter also tried to have a fight with the anti-fascists but both sides were stopped by the big police detachment. 10,000 anti-fascists who occupied a place where fascists tried to have a rally is a good thing. But 5,000 fascists, including old Nazis and young skinheads, marching in the streets is a defeat. In the end it was not a good day for German anti-fascism. Munich saw the biggest fascist demonstration since 1970.

Source: Comrades from the Hanover based Anti-Fascist Magazine Der Rechte Rand.

Photos with permission of Erich Nagel.



LEVELLING THE SCORE



In this issue of 'Levelling The Score', our first of the new season, we welcome the publication of the first issue of Well Prepared - the new Aston Villa anti-fascist fanzine. We are also pleased to hear that anti-fascists are starting to organise at Sunderland. Our main feature covers recent developments in Scotland where an alliance between some Hibs fans and fascists from Rangers are investigated.

SEASON'S GREETINGS

Well Prepared is the fanzine that will be the voice of Villa Fans Against Loyalty and Fascism, (VFALF). Carrying a mixture of articles on football and loyalty/fascism, we also intend to carry regular political articles on such issues as miscarriages of justice publicising those that are wrongfully imprisoned.

VFALF was formed by like minded AFA members and Villa fans, when it became apparent that ex-NF personnel, notably Tony Burke and Co, were trying to gain a foothold at Villa Park, calling themselves Villa C18. Despite making a lot of noise they have made little impact - apart from the less than impressive (and entirely predictable) turning over of the SWP.

When confronted by militant anti-fascists they haven't fared so well, including an embarrassing defeat on their way back from an away game when the odds were heavily in their favour. On one occasion when three VFALF members had put some stickers outside a pub the fash walked in demanding to know who was responsible. As three arms were raised confidently in the air the fascists bottled it, saying "we've got to keep politics out of football" and beating a hasty retreat.

Years ago at Villa, fascist stickers used to proclaim "Villa shits on black Zulus". These days the tack has changed, now

they read "Villa loyalists-Smash the Fenians". With prominent players like Dwight Yorke in the team, it's not hard to understand the reasoning behind their shifting of the goalposts. Anti-black racism has become politically futile, hence fascist attentions have been turned to a pro-loyalist agenda. But there are a lot of Irish living in north Birmingham, and it follows that a lot of them go down the Villa, as do a lot of black fans, so with the natural opposition of AFA supporters, and other diverse cultures and creeds represented at Villa Park, C18 should always be lagging behind.

In short, if Villa is anybody's constituency it is that of the working class Left. Our experience has taught us how easily their efforts are thwarted. Between the anti-fascist and pro-republican elements we shall stamp all over C18 and their fickle groupies. This time we won't settle for the odd skirmish, under the banner of VFALF and *Well Prepared* we shall seek not only to remove them but to replace them, following the examples set by Celtic and Manchester United.

The magazine *Well Prepared* is available for £1.00 from:

Villa Fans Against
Loyalty and Fascism
PO BOX 3311, B13 0RZ

Anti-fascist
Celtic
Magazine
£1
or
£5.00 for 4
issues
(£8.00
Overseas)

(cheques
payable to
'TAL')

Available from: TAL
PO Box 266
Glasgow G42 8EA

CELTIC FANS



T-Shirts
£7.00

Stickers
£4 for 100

(cheques
payable to
'TAL')

AGAINST
FASCISM

P.O BOX 266 GLASGOW G42 8EA



T-Shirts
£6.00

Stickers
£1 for 20

Two colour designs
(cheques payable to 'Manchester AFA')



Anti-fascist
Man. Utd
fanzine
50p
or
£5 for 6 issues

(cheques
payable to
'Red Attitude')

Available from: Red Attitude
PO Box 83
SWDO
Manchester M15 5NJ

HIGH ON HITLER

A new guvnor for the football firms?



A few months before Euro 96 a group of Hibs casuals from the Capital City Service (CCS) contacted the Celtic Soccer Crew (CSC) about getting a Scottish mob together for the game against England. The fascists of Combat 18 were making outlandish predictions that they would be running a massive English firm which would take on all-comers. CSC members felt it was in their interests to meet up with other Scottish lads with a view to ensuring that a physical defence was available if the 'Tartan Army' came under attack.

A Celtic casual who was at the meeting said, "Our initial meetings with the Hibs boys went well, but they went to some lengths to tell us that if another mob from Hibs contacted us we should have nothing to do with them because their main man was, according to them, 'a police informant'. We made it clear that there would be problems if the fascists from Rangers ICF were to be included. Apart from anything else how could we trust Nazis from Scotland, who normally drape themselves in the Butcher's Apron, not to be informing their fascist friends from other English firms of the details of Scotland's 'game plan'?"

In the end there were battles in and around Trafalgar Square and a joint outfit of Celtic and Dundee United casuals turned over Chelsea and Oxford fascists in the World's End pub in Camden. The CSC member went on to explain; "A half dozen ICF did turn up at Trafalgar Square, all of them fascists. The Hibs casuals that we had been warned off as being 'led by a police informant' were the only Hibs who showed up in Central London. Meanwhile 60 Hibs lads under the leadership of Lemon and Mikey stayed in a pub on the outskirts of North London for the whole day. What a waste of time!

We have heard rumours that Lemon was later spotted in Southend drinking with English fascists. This might partly explain why, after Euro 96, this group of Hibs casuals have teamed up with Rangers

and Hearts casuals for international matches and, as we have recently witnessed, for matches against Celtic. We can only conclude that there is a political lead being given for this unity to have come about. But there may be other reasons as to why these guys are getting together - DRUGS.

The Hibs putting himself about as the top boy is James 'Lemon' McLeod. McLeod hails from a Loyalist background. He was one of a group of CCS lads who were renowned for turning up at Hibs games wearing Skrewdriver T-shirts. Shortly after Euro 96 McLeod was spotted in the company of Loyalists in a pub in Paisley. The occasion was a Republican march which the Loyalists had planned to counter demonstrate against. We can only speculate as to why McLeod was in Paisley that day. Was it in order to point out Celtic casuals and anti-fascists to his Loyalist and fascist friends??? More recently McLeod led a group of 20 casuals in support of the Independent Orange Order (UVF) march through the centre of Edinburgh on 31st May. He was also spotted with Rangers ICF members around the outskirts of this year's James Connolly Commemoration.

When Scotland played Wales at Kilmarnock's Rugby Park in May a 90 strong group of Hibs, Hearts and Rangers turned up looking for the Celtic Soccer Crew. Even when Dundee and Kilmarnock casuals kicked it off with a firm from Cardiff the fascist mob seemed uninterested. Obviously their agenda was somewhat different from that of the other Scottish hooligans. The well known Nazi David Carrick, from the ICF, seemed to be calling the shots alongside McLeod that night.

McLeod is now believed to be scoring large quantities of drugs from another ICF leader, Brian 'Harky' Harkens, who comes from Shettleston and who was one of the proposers of the BNP candidate in that constituency. This is despite the fact that Harkens is a Catholic and former Celtic casual.

Another ICF member said: "We know that they're getting their drugs from the ICF because they asked us to supply them with drugs last summer. When we couldn't help them they obviously went to the Huns. Harky used to run with us years ago, but he lost face after a fight with a younger guy and we never saw him again until he turned up with the ICF to have a go at Celtic fans."

It seems that the new alliance of Hibs, Hearts and the Huns is really about politics and drugs. With the fascists getting organised, forming united mobs and raising finances through drug dealing, it makes Celtic Anti-Fascists organisation of resistance to fascism all the more important.

At the last match of the season against Rangers a very tasty looking mob came along London Road after the game looking to attack Celtic fans. Spotted among them were well known faces from Hibs and Hearts. Again, at the last game against Hibs at Easter Road, Celtic fans - both scarfers and casuals - were indiscriminately set upon, slashed and beaten by what they thought were Hibs casuals. However they were baffled by the fact that some of those who attacked them were shouting "Nine in a row, ya fenian bastards!" No prizes for guessing which casuals were in Edinburgh with Hibs that day!?

A Celtic casual summed it up when he said: "For a mob like Hibs to give up their independence to run with a shower of Loyalists and fascists would have been unthinkable in the past. After all wasn't it only a few years ago that 50 Hibs boys formed the main body of stewards for the James Connolly Commemoration?!? Obviously there are Hibs fans who don't know what the full story is and are perhaps unaware of the extent of the liaison between 'Lemon' and his fascist, drug dealing friends from Rangers."

(This article first appeared in Issue 17 of the Celtic Anti-Fascist fanzine 'Tìocfaidh Ar La')



Sorry, but you did vote for it...

In Fighting Talk we often refer to the "conservative Left" as an obstacle to both militant anti-fascism and filling the political vacuum in working class areas. Here we look at the failure of the Left and the reasons why they are a "conservative" force....

**THE SAME
YESTERDAY,
TODAY AND
FOREVER...**

New Labour, New Britain. After eighteen years of Tory rule, during which the prospect of a Labour government was held out as our best hope, the election result should have had us all singing in the streets...

Never mind the fact that Labour did **absolutely nothing** to defend us during those years. Look at the Poll Tax. During the biggest movement of resistance against government the mainland has seen for years, where was Labour? With support in opinion polls at an all time high did they have the courage or the will to openly support non-payment, to bring the country to a standstill and the government to its knees?

No, what we were told till we were sick of hearing it was "Vote Labour" in the 1992 election. Meanwhile, Labour councils dragged thousands of people through the courts and sent in the bailiffs. At a moment of intense class struggle, Labour showed clearly which side they were on. And for those who actually believed the cavalry would ride over the hill on polling day - it just didn't happen.

In fact, throughout this period, most people's experience of the so-called "opposition" was simple: they only ever appeared at election time,

leaving us afterwards to fend for ourselves or get shafted by Labour councils over housing, education and facilities. And continually telling people that it was all the fault of the wicked Tories just made the point sharper - what use were Labour?

Now Labour has won power by becoming even more acceptable to business and the middle class. Notice how their new MPs mostly come from a common background in local government, as councillors or council employees. It is the triumph of the professional managers, the bureaucrats and the spineless - the same people who just did what they were told under the Tories. To expect any real change from this lot is like pissing in the wind.



We know they like re-writing history...

**NEVER FEAR, THE
VANGUARD'S HERE...**

So if Labour is basically an anti-working class organisation - what about the rest of the Left, particularly the Leninists and Trotskyists? They harp on about class and, in their own minds, represent the cutting edge of class struggle. The trouble is - they just can't deliver. Which wouldn't matter if they weren't seen as the public face of "revolutionary" socialism etc. So, far from being an irrelevance which we can ignore, they are a stumbling block to advancing the struggle in this country. They alienate working class support; burn out or disillusion useful militants and are the best advert for revolution the ruling class could ever hope for. And as a result any radical "Left" politics gets tarred with the same brush.

If we look at the two largest groups on the Leninist Left, the Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labour / the Socialist Party we can see why they are both a failure and a threat.

The Socialist Workers Party remain one of the most visible groups on the Left. During the recent election their posters proclaimed "VOTE LABOUR WITHOUT ILLUSIONS" or "VOTE LABOUR BUT DON'T TRUST BLAIR". Whilst many people did just that, for the "vanguard" of the class to advocate giving a mandate to an anti-working class government (just because its going to be less brutal than the previous lot) is laughable - except it isn't funny because it won't be the S.W.P. that pays the price, it'll be all of us.

Now the election is over a new set of posters have appeared to deface our communities, proclaiming "WE DIDN'T VOTE FOR THIS". Sorry, but you did vote for it and encouraged others to do the same. If the S.W.P. are trying to say this is all some horrible mistake, it won't wash because New Labour are doing **exactly** what they said they would do.

Look at the S.W.P.'s strategy for change. Calling on the government, the police and the T.U.C. to support the struggle is a complete dead end because none of those organisations have any interest at all in advancing that struggle. Their agenda is to subjugate or divert into harmless channels the pent up anger of the people at the bottom of the heap. Asking them for anything can only mean one thing - that their right to govern and control us has been accepted. This is bollocks and the fact that so-called "revolutionaries" come out with it is the most damning indictment of their political programme.

To be fair the S.W.P. have no choice. Their politics point in no other direction and their membership is almost entirely middle class, drawn from students and white collar workers (often in local government). This raises a huge credibility gap which, alongside the hopeless drivel they continue to spout, has only one effect - it alienates working class people. This creates a vicious circle - the S.W.P. have to keep banging on about making Labour or the T.U.C. do this or that because they haven't got the support to do it themselves.

Tactics depend on strategy. If you haven't got a credible strategy you can't have any worthwhile tactics. So the S.W.P. excel in making the biggest noise and achieving nothing. Anti-fascists will be only too aware of the antics of the S.W.P.'s Anti Nazi League in this department. The A.N.L. has now closed its London office,

but no doubt we'll see an even more hysterical relaunch if the Far Right makes another breakthrough in local elections.

The same pattern has been repeated in all campaigns the S.W.P. have been involved in, parachuting in as the "vanguard" and bailing out just as fast when no quick opportunity to recruit members presents itself. But then they identify the Party with the class struggle (as its natural leadership), with names on recruiting lists (disguised as petitions) and newspaper sales more important than the objective advancement of class interests. This also means that they can't conceive of the struggle happening without them or happening in ways that don't fit the rigid mould of their politics.

Again, none of this would matter except that, as a well organised and centralised machine that jumps on every issue going, the S.W.P. get in the way. As such they are part of the problem and not part of the solution. We have to expose them, strip away their bogus credentials and get rid of them. If we don't, they will continue to wreck any chance we have of moving on.

IF YOU CAN'T BEAT THEM, JOIN THEM...

The other main outfit of the Leninist Left, Militant Tendency, Militant Labour or the Socialist Party - has more credibility than the S.W.P. in terms of its membership (and, at least in Scotland, decent work against bailiffs during the Poll Tax). But they are saddled with much of the same political baggage as the S.W.P. In this case they were actually part of the Labour Party, seeking to take over the political machine. But they got chewed up and spat out. Worse still, their involvement in local Labour councils, as in Liverpool, meant that when the crunch came they were the fall guys, dragging the reputation of the Left even further down.

Whilst they were prepared to resist national government, their strategy of controlling local government through the Labour Party was doomed from the start. All the Tories had to do was stop the money and Militant councillors ended up being held responsible for the collapse of local services and jobs. They had nothing to offer as an alternative because taking over the bureaucracy had taken the place of any real strategy for working class resistance and self defence. Some revolution comrades!

The first lesson for local government bureaucrats (of whatever persuasion) is that their power base comes from the money they control. That's why they

Some Revolution Comrades!

wouldn't support non-payment of Poll Tax and why right now they will accept cuts on local authority spending imposed by their own party in national government. Militant thought they could change the rules of the game. All they managed to do was saw off the branch on which they were sitting. Sad, but then they shouldn't have been sitting on it in the first place.

Militant have yet to learn the lesson. Whilst they have popular support in a couple of local areas and have broken with Labour to the extent of standing against them in elections the problem remains - are they aiming for control via the existing structure of government or, alternatively, to advance a revolution. They still think the two aims are the same and so have nothing to offer.



But this is really stretching it...

And whilst there are decent rank and file elements within the organisation, their energies are frittered away and many end up frustrated and disillusioned. In this sense, Militant (and the S.W.P.) are like generals in the First World War despatching the best of a generation to oblivion. You don't win by fighting on ground that your enemy has chosen and, unless you are a traitor or completely stupid, you don't keep on calling for one last push to "glorious" but completely predictable defeat.

The observations apply equally to all the other smaller outfits that comprise the Leninist / Trotskyist Left, most of whom have zero credibility with working class people. They have failed to convince and, by their antics, have generated little but suspicion and resentment from the people they have the nerve to claim to represent. If we want to see working

class control in working class areas we won't get there by following in the footsteps of these losers or by being in any way identified with them. We have to take a different path, preferably one they are incapable of following or which they can be prevented from obstructing.

**OUT GUNNED
AND OUT
NUMBERED?
CHAAARGE!**

What about the revolutionary Left beyond the absurdities of Lenin and Trotsky? Its a broad field ranging from Marxists to class struggle Anarchists. They won't like being all lumped together but, to be honest, in recent years the only really well known group would be Class War. So we'll just look at them. Unlike the S.W.P. etc., Class War never asked the state for anything and, during the Miners Strike and the Poll Tax, the CW paper reflected the anger and hatred felt by many, making a refreshing break from the usual Lefty bleating.

But the problem was that the strategy of breaking with the Left and returning to independent and authentic class struggle fell down on a tactical level. While this was less evident during the Poll Tax, because of the widespread local resistance, it was clear by the time of the "Communities of Resistance" initiative. This was a good idea but it showed the gap between the propaganda and the reality, between sporadic resistance and sustained resistance in working class communities. Bridging that gap was where the work needed to be done and still needs to be done.



LEFT JUGGAGGE

Basically CW just ended up shouting for maximum resistance, with minimal ability to deliver. Reading the paper you'd think all that was needed was confrontation, hospitalised coppers, riots, riots and more riots. The trouble is, whilst people will fight (and don't need politicians to tell them to) its not necessarily their first choice. More like the last option, especially since the State is impressively tooled up and riots often leave the community weakened and divided. People know the score, they want to know if they can win and if there's a good chance of something better coming out of it. Which is why many of the "ordinary" people reading the CW paper saw it all as a bit of a laugh. Sympathetic yes, prepared to go out and do it - not necessarily. In the absence of any real prospect for successful collective resistance, people will just get on with their lives and resist in their own small way. You can't blame them for that.

So the demand for all out class war on the streets became just as hollow as the S.W.P. calling for a General Strike. Playing to the media, stunts, provocations and ritualised street battles against the old bill became a substitute for effective resistance. And in that context CW and the rest often ended up tagging along with the conservative Left on their pointless demos. Like Welling, for example - what was the point? An anti-fascist mobilisation? It inflicted no damage on fascists, despite the fact there were plenty about for those who were prepared to hunt them down, as AFA did. A set piece battle with the police - the police won (in any sense that matters) on ground they had chosen. And at times it all just descended into parody - like "CW Hooliganz" during Euro'96. Ridiculous - issuing the challenge when you can't back it up earns nothing but contempt.

CW drew in or influenced many decent militants, many of whom left because they could see that the gap between propaganda and reality was getting no smaller. Even the ones who stayed have finally come to the conclusion that its a dead end and have said so publicly in the last issue of the paper. That's a rare thing on the Left - credit where's its due.

If the S.W.P. and Militant show us complete dead ends, then the lesson to be drawn from CW etc. is that you can't build the roof without the foundations. Idle threats scare no one, they have to be backed up. Its time people woke up and took stock of the situation. All the useless baggage should be consigned once and for all to the left luggage locker. Then perhaps we can move on. After all - what've we got to lose?.

FASCIST GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

MAY 1997

BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY

Aldershot	Dr Donald Stevens	322	0.59%
Ashfield, Notts	Steven Belshaw	595	1.18
Barking	Mark Tolman	894	2.71
Batley & Spen, W Yorks	Ron Smith	472	1.01
Bethnal Green & Bow	Dave King	3,350	7.50
Bexley Heath & Crayford	Pauline Smith	429	0.89
Birmingham Northfield	Keith Axon	337	0.85
Birmingham Perry Barr	Lee Windridge	544	1.19
Blaby, Leics	John Peacock	523	0.98
Blackpool Nth & Fleetwood	John Ellis	288	0.54
Bournemouth West	John Morse	165	0.40
Bradford West	Gary Osborne	839	1.84
Bristol North West	Stephen Parnell	265	0.48
Broxbourne, Herts	Dave Bruce	610	1.30
Calder Valley, W Yorks	Chris Jackson	431	0.76
Carshalton & Wallington	Gary Ritchie	261	0.54
Charnwood, Leics	Matthew Palmer	525	0.93
Chingford			
& Woodford Green	Alan Gould	1,059	2.38
Clydesdale, Strathclyde	Kenneth Smith	311	0.62
Coventry South	Jeffrey Astbury	328	0.65
Croydon South	Paul Ferguson	354	0.65
Dagenham	Bill Binding	900	2.49
Dartford	Paul McHale	428	0.82
Dewsbury	Frances Taylor	2,232	5.18
East Ham	Colin Smith	1,258	3.15
Edmonton	Bruce Cowd	437	0.97
Eltham	Bill Hitches	491	1.13
Enfield North	Jean Griffin	590	1.24
Epping Forest	Paul Henderson	743	1.40
Erith & Thamesmead	Victor Dooley	718	1.73
Feltham & Heston	Robert Church	682	1.47
Gillingham	Christopher Jury	195	0.38
Glasgow Govan	Jim White	149	0.46
Glasgow Shettleston	Robert Currie	191	0.71
Hackney South & Shoreditch	Gordon Callow	531	1.57
Harlow	John Bowles	319	0.67
Ilford North	Paul Wilson	755	1.55
Ilford South	Aron Owens	580	1.16
Kingswood, Avon	Peter Hart	290	0.48
Leicester West	Adrian Belshaw	302	0.74
Leominster	John Haycock	292	0.58
Mitcham & Morden	Lynda Miller	521	1.09
Morley & Rothwell, Yorks	Roger Wood	381	0.83
Old Bexley & Sidcup	Valerie Tyndall	415	0.81
Poplar & Canning Town	John Tyndall	2,849	7.26
Reading East	Barbara Packer	238	0.47
Reading West	Ian Dell	320	0.66
Rochdale	Gary Bergin	653	1.36
Romford	Michael Carey	522	1.24
Rossendale & Darwen	Andrew Wearden	674	1.32
Sherwood	Paul Ballard	432	0.76
Southwark North			
& Bermondsey	Michael Davidson	713	1.75
Stoke on Trent Central	Michael Coleman	606	1.51
Stoke on Trent South	Steven Batkin	568	1.23
Taunton	Leslie Andrews	318	0.52
West Ham	Ken Francis	1,198	3.56

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS

Birmingham Ladywood	Andy Carmichael	685	1.80
Blackburn	Tina Wingfield	671	1.41
Burton, Staffs	Keith Sharp	604	1.11
Dagenham	Michael Hipperson	183	0.51
Derby South	Bob Evans	317	0.60
Devon East	Gary Needs	131	0.25
Dudley North	Simon Darby	469	0.98
East Ham	Graham Hardy	290	0.73
Halesowen & Rowley Regis	Karen Needs	592	1.21
Leicester South	Kevin Sills	307	0.64
Leicester West	Clive Potter	186	0.45
Londonderry East	Ian Anderson	81	0.21
Nottingham South	Sharron Edwards	446	0.92
Plymouth Devonport	Stephen Ebbs	238	0.46
Southport	Mike Middleton	92	0.18
Southwark North			
& Bermondsey	Ingga Yngvison	95	0.23
Stoke on Trent South	Brian Lawrence	288	0.62
Tiverton & Honiton	Del Charles	236	0.40
West Bromwich West	Stephen Edwards	4,181	11.39
Wolverhampton NE	Martin Wingfield	356	0.86
Yorkshire East	Mike Cooper	381	0.78

NATIONAL FRONT

Beckenham	John McAuley	388	0.71
Bromley & Chislehurst	Michael Stoneman	369	0.70
Dudley North	George Cartwright	559	1.17
Hayes & Harlington	Gerald Hutchins	504	1.23
Lewisham East	Robert Croucher	431	1.16
Walsall North	Alan Humphries	465	1.07

THIRD WAY

Broxbourne, Herts	Brent Cheetham	172	0.37
Hornchurch	Jenny Trueman	259	0.59

IT COULDN'T HAPPEN HERE?

After 18 years of Tory government it was entirely predictable that 'new' Labour would win the General Election in May, but media reports of a Labour landslide were misleading. It was the lowest turn-out since the Second World War and the level of working class alienation even before the election, let alone the disillusion that will set in once Labour fails to deliver, will create the conditions that the Far Right hope to grow in.

The threat from the fascists lies in their potential to fill the political vacuum that exists in working class areas, and undoubtedly the BNP will be satisfied with the results they achieved. As the front cover of May's *Spearhead* declared, *"TV broadcast ... Saved Deposits ... Thousands of Enquiries ... Mission Accomplished!"*. Similarly British Nationalist comments in its June issue, *"During the election, the BNP achieved all of its election goals; nearly sixty candidates were fielded qualifying the party for TV broadcasting time; more than 2½ million election addresses in support of the candidates were delivered by the post office; and the party more than doubled its vote from 1992 to save*

[illegible]

Spearhead

TV broadcast Saved deposits
....Thousands of enquiries



**MISSION
ACCOMPLISHED!**

its deposit in both East End target seats." Their 56 candidates got over 600 votes on average, and bearing in mind their strategy wasn't based on any illusions about winning seats, but on getting contacts and through follow up work after the election, turning contacts into activists - then in many areas around the country there is the possibility that anti-

fascists will be seeing increased fascist activity. It is also relevant to point out that although the fascists only got 0.13% of all the votes cast, if Britain had a proportional representation system the Far Right would have 8 MPs.

The BNP saved 3 deposits (in Dewsbury, Bethnal Green & Bow, Poplar & Canning Town) and the fascist vote was their best since 1979. Despite this CARF magazine (Campaign Against Racism & Fascism) dismiss the fascist threat " ... Tyndall's *fascists managed to save their deposits in just 3 seats ... outside London the BNP approached melt-down ... it failed to make a breakthrough.*" (CARF, July 97).

Jim Fitzpatrick, the newly elected Labour MP for Poplar & Canning Town, where Tyndall got 7.26% of the vote, also failed to understand the significance of the BNP election campaign when he said "... *it was pleasing to see the heavy defeat for the extremist BNP. Their derisory vote puts them back down with the also-rans and no-hopers where they belong.*" (East London Advertiser, 8th May 1997).

In response to this the BNP Tower Hamlets Organiser was quoted in the same paper a week later "... *far from being derisory as the Labour Party claim, our vote increased by almost 300%. This sets us up very nicely for next May's local elections.*"



Front National candidate Catherine Megret (right), who won in Vitrolles recently against only one Socialist Party candidate backed by all the other parties

We only have to look across the Channel to see how a Far Right party can achieve success. In February the FN, now France's largest working class party, gained power in its fourth town in the South, Vitrolles. The scenario is very familiar, a concrete new town with a Socialist Party administration that thinks changing the names of a few streets, such as the Avenue Nelson Mandela, will seriously tackle the problem of racism.

The most interesting aspect of this election was the fact that all the mainstream parties operated the Anyone But Fascists (ABF) strategy. As AFA predicted "... while the call for unity between Left and Right, the Anyone But Fascist strategy has an attractive simplicity, it is in reality a siren call on to the rocks." (A Quantum Leap, 1996). All the candidates withdrew to leave the Socialist Party candidate in a straight fight with the FN, and since he had been found guilty of serious charges of corruption its no great surprise that the FN won. As Catherine Megret, The FN winner, said, "This common front against the Front proves our point. The mayor here is corrupt. The entire French political establishment is corrupt, rotten to the core. That is why they join forces to fight us. Only we speak for the French people." In Britain there are 31 Labour councils being investigated for political and economic corruption and already 3 Labour MPs have been suspended since the election.

Fascism brought death and destruction to millions in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, but its not a thing of the past. Spain lived under fascist control until the death of Franco in 1974 and Far Right dictatorships existed in Latin America until a few years ago.

During the Vitrolles campaign an FN walkabout was interrupted by a woman shouting "Fascist!". The response was to shout back at her "Communist filth!" Anti-fascists in this country still seem to think that occupying the moral high ground is a guarantee of victory. Far from it, for while the Left has gone into apparent terminal decline, the Far Right have entered the mainstream. In Norway the Far Right Progress Party are predicted to become the country's second largest party after the September general election. In Australia the independent MP Pauline Hanson, elected on a racist ticket and much admired by the BNP, has now launched the One Nation Party which has estimated national support of 9%. And with the better known examples of Italy, France, Germany and Austria it is clear that fascism is back - and not a jackboot or swastika in sight.

In southern France, with 4 towns under FN control, we can see the way that fascism is gradually establishing itself. In one of these, Toulon, a teacher has been demoted from a senior post he held for 16 years because of his anti-fascist activities; a North African town hall office worker was told to become a street cleaner or face the sack; the director of an arts centre already denounced as being "degenerate" was sacked for organising events "critical" of the FN mayor; a rap group banned; Jewish writers censored; modern art thrown on the council dump. Isolated targets, but looked at from a distance and a pattern emerges.

The Sunday Observer recently remarked that in France "...it is now quite common for people at smart dinner parties to voice support for the Front. If not about their policy towards immigrants, then its support for the other policy planks ... it is the only 'major' party to be anti-Europe, its war against the sleaze and corruption that have enmeshed the other parties at the highest levels, its call for lower taxes." Very similar to the views expressed in Channel 4's fly-on-the-wall documentary 'The Cutting Edge' filmed in East Anglia. (see FT 16).

This inroad into the middle class is something that also interests the BNP. As they say themselves, "BNP votes came largely from working class areas whilst support for the Referendum Party and the UK Independence Party was more middle class based. This suggests that when the BNP launches into its post-election recruitment campaigns it would do well to allocate plenty of effort and resources to those types of area where the Referendum Party and UKIP appeal was the strongest." (Spearhead, May 97).

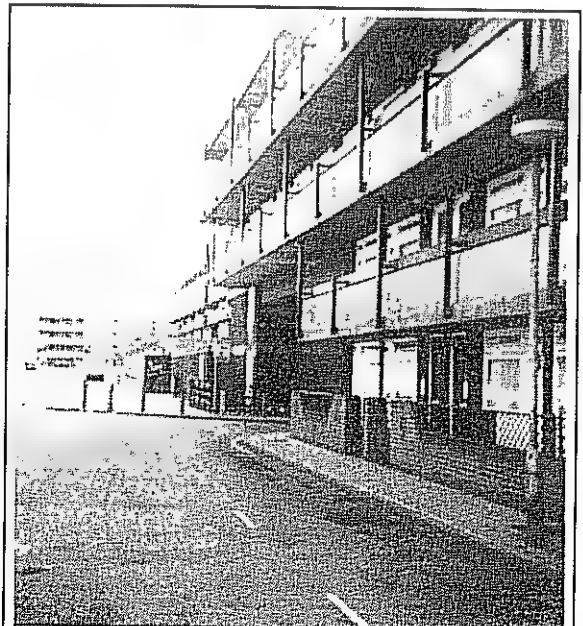
So in France the fascists have broken through, in Britain they are still looking to. "When Bambi and co begin - as they will in a year or two - to be seen to be failing to live up to their promises, the British people are not likely to be ready to turn back to the Tories for salvation. Then will come the opportunity for a massive rise



Le Pen - an accepted figure in French politics.

in the nationalist vote that was not possible in the election just gone ... even before that the way could be open for the BNP to repeat Millwall - not just in one but several council wards in London and beyond." (Spearhead, May 1997).

While this shows the fascists' ambition it also reveals the answer. As in France the initial breakthrough comes in working class areas, feeding on the disillusion with the mainstream parties. As AFA has continually pointed out the BNP's policies are ultra-conservative and fascist influence can be stopped by the building of a genuinely progressive working class alternative. The worst possible situation is for anti-fascists to dismiss the fascists on the basis that they only averaged 1.23% of the vote where they stood. When John Tyndall stood on the white cliffs of Dover in their election broadcast he looked totally absurd. But if you glanced over his shoulder, avoiding the strands of hair blowing dangerously about, you would have seen France where his dreams are becoming a reality.



The council estates - where the conflict begins and ends.

BEHIND ENEMY LINES



As a car crash in Paris killed off Bill's stand-in, the man himself had to be called back from a four year investigation, deep in the Andes, into one of Ellen Strachan's theories about Llamas and White Eugenics. Now known as "Grumbling" Bill Gothrocks, he was given a pile of fascist magazines and told to get on with his real job...

There's a new fascist magazine in my in-tray, titled *The Patriot*, and its another from the BNP stable (no pun intended). The man behind it is an old acquaintance of AFA's, known to our older militants as Tony 'Tarmac' Lecomber, because of his penchant for diving head first into the road whenever we met him. Tony now boasts of his reformed character and his 'new' suit. He's putting himself forward as the champion of a European style "New Nationalism", in cahoots with among others ex-Tower Hamlets Organiser Steve Smith, and Ex-BNP Press officer Michael Newland.

I'm going to concentrate on *The Patriot*, and first I want to take up a point with Steve Smith who has written the BNP version of the last 7 years in Tower Hamlets. The place is Weavers Fields School, Bethnal Green. The year is 1990. A large group of BNP supporters (led by Lecomber) making their way to a public meeting at the school, are met en-route by a group divided into two pubs. The local plod - not knowing or attempting a set-up - attached the groups from the pubs, to the end of the BNP group. The groups from the pubs were AFA supporters. According to Smith this happened:

"There were several skirmishes, with the first BNP arrivals to the school successfully fighting off a numerically superior force until more BNP supporters arrived to boost numbers and deter further attack."

This is what really happened. The two groups advanced towards the school, with at least Lecomber being aware of just who they had picked up. Meanwhile, behind railings in a park next to the school, the SWP reserved most of their chanting for the contingent in the rear. A

decision was made just outside the school and the anti-fascists initiated a full scale brawl; a particular highlight of which was Lecomber trying to lead a counter-charge into a grinning mob of anti-fascists, the finale being a spectacular nose dive into a forest of *Grolsch* Bottles.

The police had at first been caught out, having expected everybody to move into the meeting. Eventually, TSU back-up arrived and in the ensuing confusion many anti-fascists were forced to peel off or had been arrested. This left a small force of about 12-15 consolidating themselves and preparing to move. Any remaining fash had long before made it to the safety of the school. That was when another 50 strong group of fascists came charging up the road from behind. (Apparently the 'stewards' group protecting the main group who had just got bashed. The main faces were later to appear in *Searchlight*, "exposed" as C18 elite heavies.)

The anti-fascists in the road stood. The charge slowed to a walk, and the walk to a crawl. The police moved in as they saw that if the fash slowed down any more, it would all be a bit too embarrassing. This fascist 'Heavy Mob' was duly escorted into the meeting by the coppers. The anti-fascists, having made their point, strolled off to re-group with their comrades. Incidentally, all through the incident the SWP had stood behind the railings, watching. That was what happened at Weavers Fields. When the BNP policy change on street activity came, the decision wasn't made in a void, whatever Smith would like his mates to believe.

Moving along to a different kind of street activity, there's also an article by poor old Michael Newland, who got turned over in his flat a couple of years back by a group of moustachioed men who he insists were Zionists/Left-wingers posing as council workers. His write up of this incident in *The Patriot* has led me to believe that neither his claims nor others that C18 were behind it are true. I put it to you Mr Newland that the attack was, in fact, part of a lurid S&M fantasy sex-game, of which you yourself were party:

"I opened the door and the men rushed me after pretending to be from the local council. One was about fifty with a neat moustache and a blue blazer.... But I avoid what followed. I woke from being beaten unconscious to find myself tied hand and foot with black tape, and lying on the floor of my hallway...I managed to get out onto my front doorstep. Office workers were walking by... None would stop for this apparition covered in blood, and with hands and feet tied together in a smother of sticky tape. 'Typical' said the police later."

Typical eh? So it's not the first time that you've been caught tied up on the street harassing innocent passers-by? Shame on you sir! I'd call for you to be locked up but I firmly believe you'd take physical pleasure from the experience.

One thing worth pondering about *The Patriot*, is why Lecomber has been given leave to produce it? There's a lot of colour and it's fully glossed (and given the 'top-shelf' content, that's hardly surprising) which means a few bob is involved. *Spearhead* is independent, which might have left the door open for this, but it's a strange policy in a solidly undemocratic organisation. Lecomber was a regular contributor to Tyndall's rag but he isn't now, which brings us to Nick Griffin, who seems to have replaced him. As the new Right-Hand man (pun intended), Griffin is a touch more reliable for leaving a little something 'behind the lines':

"..Faint heart ne'er won fair maiden, and there in no maiden fairer than the survival of our fair maidens, which at the end of the day, is what the struggle is all about."

I wonder who the lucky girl is? There's something in Griffin's writing that conjures up images of a naked man in front of a mirror, thinking about himself:

"Do I even want to head the BNP? It's a lonely and thankless task, with a frightening burden of responsibility. I believe that I could do it. In some ways I'd like to try..." [chin raised, pushing hair from noble brow]

I'll leave the last words, however, to the real expert. The May issue of *Spearhead* included a two page analysis of the election, while devoting three pages to the far more important issue of how Tyndall doesn't get on with the media. Having worked with them all through April and May he concludes: *"Now that it's all over, my thoughts turn to a damned good bath."*

And they say all the crusties are on our side.

Between the Sheets

with Elvis Mondallant



Fighting Talk's latest signing, the enigmatic Elvis Mondallant, starts a new feature dealing with the media's handling of both Fascism and Anti-Fascism.

An exhibition, *The War of Annihilation: Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-44*, which has been touring Germany has recently found an airing in the British press, with several articles in the last couple of months. The purpose of the exhibition is to show the role that the regular German army played in war time atrocities, including executions of Jews, Gypsies and partisans. The exhibition gives a lie to the myth that was cultured post-war, by the allied powers as well as by Germans, that the ordinary German soldier was untainted by war crimes. That the Holocaust, executions on the Eastern front and other atrocities elsewhere were attributable to the SS, Gestapo and other forces separate from the regular Army. According to those journalists who have visited it, the exhibition supplies overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

The evidence includes letters sent from the front back home, many of which use language from the dictionary of Nazi propaganda and enthuse about some of the tasks these soldiers were involved in. Soldiers write about ridding the world of 'subhumanity', of a 'sanitisation programme' for the white race. There are some uncomfortable

facts exposed by this exhibition which, according to press reports, appear to be upsetting today's fascists as well as yesterdays. In March when the exhibition reached Munich five thousand fascists demonstrated against the event along with many from the mainstream Right (see the article *Forbidden History* in this issue of FT). When fascism came to power in Germany, it found support throughout all layers of society and was deeply embedded in the German armed forces. Looking at the photography reproduced and the other evidence chewed over in the press it seems that this exhibition proves that point.

Meanwhile there are strange goings on in France. An article in *The Guardian* on May 24th profiles black and Jewish activists of the French Front National. The article begins by introducing Stephan Durbec, Front National candidate to Marseille regional council. Durbec is black and has been active in the FN for ten years. Central to the Front National's campaigning programme are anti-immigration policies and discrimination in the jobs market where jobs would be reserved for French citizens. Durbec has no problem with this, "Being French is nothing to do with the colour of your skin," he makes his point by displaying an old colonial poster with African, Arab and Vietnamese faces above the slogan "One Empire, three colours."

How is this unusual behaviour to be explained? The article begins to dig into the background of Durbec, in search of some explanation. How is it we wonder, given the history of fascism in relation to black people that we find a specimen of this kind in the Front National? There are some clues. It appears that Durbec was abandoned by his parents as a baby, fostered, adopted, and then, a little bird tells me, possibly dropped on his head. Now, I'm told, by people who have much experience in these matters, that if you've had a bump on the head and lost your senses then sometimes another bump on the head will resolve things. A couple of years back, during the regional election campaign, a fine effort was made by local Communist Party activists to assist with the situation. Durbec spent several days in hospital. However, no sooner was he out, than the old condition returned and he was again to be seen in quite unsuitable company. That particular bump on the head doesn't seem to have done the trick. After consulting with several specialists in this field I can only suggest more of the same.

A head to head debate printed in *The Guardian* on April 19th between Donu Kogbara and Michael Mansfield QC, centred on the issue of whether the BNP TV broadcast should be transmitted or banned. These two liberals seem to have missed the point altogether and appear to be quite happy exchanging polite arguments with each other. To give you some idea of the kind of bollocks involved here, Mansfield complains that the BNP's world takes no account of the UN Charter, the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights or The European Convention on Human Rights. You don't say. We then move on to Kogbara's line of argument who insists that the "system will continue to punish the likes of Tyndall when they are caught crossing the line between saying and doing." Oh dear. A letter sent to *The Guardian* by AFA's Eamonn Kent dealing with some of the real issues involved here is reproduced below.

"In the head to head debate (Speech of Freedom, April 19) Michael Mansfield and Donu Kogbara make a number of fundamental errors. Both believe that fascism and racism are one and the same thing and that the BNP are a single



An image from the exhibition, *The War of Annihilation: Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941-44*, showing regular army soldiers hanging partisans in Minsk



1936: The days When the coppers used to skip down the street arm-in-arm

issue anti-black organisation. Certainly race is high on the BNP agenda but when the far-right speak of racism they refer to a belief in the natural superiority between races. Under fascism the denial of fundamental rights would not be reserved for non-white and ethnic minorities but for the lower orders as a whole. The far-right exploit the issue of race and immigration because it has a wide resonance. The BNP are both a symptom and a cause. Mansfield states that the BNP election broadcast should be banned by the State on the grounds of taste and decency. At the same time he invokes the memory of the Battle of Cable St. forgetting that what some consider this vital victory was achieved against the employees of that same State - the police.

Had he lived in 1936 he would no doubt have applauded the introduction of the Public Order Act introduced to deal with the fascists thereafter employed with relish against anti-fascists. History shows that the commitment of parliamentary democracy even to itself in times of crisis is not reliable, and granting it further powers to curb the views of those it might disagree with is hardly to be recommended as an anti-fascist strategy. Twice Kogbara states that "Bigots are born and not made". (The BNP equally strong believers in eugenics might agree with her). This concept neatly exonerates the wider society but also concludes that nothing can or should be done, and if you ignore the likes of

the BNP they will go away. Once again she would earn applause from the BNP who would like nothing better than go about their business unheeded.

While the views expressed by Mansfield and Kogbara for and against State intervention appear contradictory they are flip sides of the same coin. It is this type of muddled liberal thinking that has dominated the tactics of anti-fascists in France and elsewhere with disastrous results. What the growth of the Front National does show is that fascists are made not born. Inviting State intervention is part of the problem not part of the solution. And unfashionable as it may be, fascism is largely a question of class rather than race."

The Weekly Worker recently highlighted an extract from a Socialist Party internal document assessing the results of the May general election. It looks like the purveyors of large documents have finally caught on, "The vote for the BNP in East London is a warning about a future revival of racism" they say. It goes on to point out the examples of France and Austria, and yes, believe it or not, it could happen here. The Socialist Party are not alone, almost at the same time it appears that the SWP have decided that "the further disillusionment offered by the experience of New Labour in office could drive some people into the arms of the Tory right and even the fascists and their nationalist and racist solutions". Not the only thing that will drive them there.

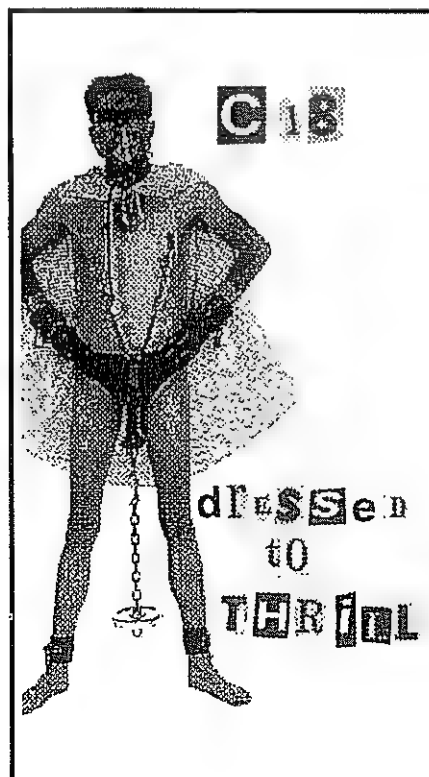
Searchlight's most recent publicity stunt (in conjunction with Roger Cook) is discussed in another part of this magazine. However, an interesting feature, by Ken Hyder, appeared in the Independent Magazine a couple of months back which profiled Gerry Gable, giving his history and some background to the undercover exploits of Searchlight's moles. Towards the end of the article we are treated to a rundown on the present condition of the fascist organisations, this is a reworking of TV programmes and hyped headlines past, World In Action, Despatches, Searchlight inspired news coverage, and with the same result.

The article tells the story of the C18/ National Socialist Alliance. We are told of "underground cells", of "revolutionary resistance to British democracy." There have been secret meetings between C18 and various football firms." People on hit lists have been attacked in the street or fire bombed in London, Leeds, Derby and South Wales. We are informed of an attack on Ross Fraser, Chelsea

supporter, described by C18 as "a failed assassination attempt" and so on. Now in my opinion you could get a somewhat distorted view of things reading this article. Anyone in the Holborn area last April 27th may have got a slightly different perspective of C18 not usually featured in the pages of Searchlight.

There are passing references made to the BNP in this article but even then Hyder takes the opportunity to hype up the potential for fascist violence. The article mentions the fact that the BNP were looking to field fifty candidates in the general election, but then jumps immediately into an explanation of just how nasty these people will be when their electoral strategy falls down. There is no mention anywhere in the article of the organised anti-fascist militants that have spent years confronting the Far Right both physically and ideologically, and more importantly the successes related to this activity.

Nor is there any serious analysis of the fascists strategy, no explanation of the BNP's electoral, community based politics. Rather than point towards the real dangers that the BNP pose, as per the FN in France, Hyder, who is a well known Searchlight sympathiser, is content to regurgitate the off-the-shelf Searchlight formulae, violent scare stories and fine detective work. This was a piece of journalism engineered by the Searchlight marketing department. Without underground cells, leaderless resistance and failed assassination attempts where would the moles burrow?



THE COOK REPORT - The Truth Behind The Front
 Carlton TV
 Screened 17/6/97

The Cook Report's recent expose of Britain's Far Right was remarkable for the simple fact that it was extremely unremarkable. Searchlight magazine's decision to get into bed with MI5 stooge Roger Cook - a particularly loathsome creature by anybody's standards - clearly demonstrates the ever rightward drift of Gerry Gable and his team. After their glowing reproduction of Prince Charlie's message to the Respect Festival, what next, a black-framed photo of DI on the front of the next issue?

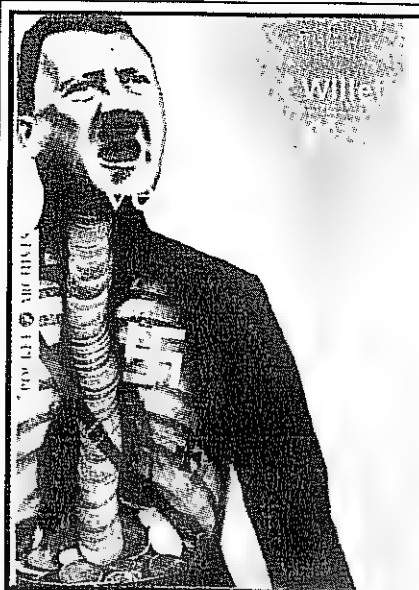
The programme trod the now familiar path of the usual mix of (not so) shocking footage of NF geek Wayne Ashcroft saying the words "nigger" and "paki", the BNP's Nick Griffin being questioned about the Holocaust and some hazy footage of grown men with pillow cases on their heads, along with the usual collection of victims, establishment figures and liberal lawyer Mike Mansfield arguing that the State be given more powers to deal with the Far Right.

Yes, altogether nasty, but not very frightening people; and so what? If the abuse directed at the working class people of London reproduced in Searchlight (issue 264) was actually said by Griffin, then why was that not reproduced in the programme? Now that could have been devastating to their potential support base. Instead we were treated to more 'Mr. Hitler, is it true you don't particularly like black people?', 'Well actually I don't, no.' 'Aha! There you are then!'

Laughable, except for the fact that as one of the leading influences within the anti-fascist movement in this country still, Searchlight appear determined to pursue the political path that will ultimately defeat that movement. Why? I'll leave that one up to you.



The fiendish Nick Griffin in his true form.



HEARTFIELD VERSUS HITLER
 by John Willet.
 Published by Hazan. £7.95.

If you are not familiar with the work of John Heartfield this pocket-sized book is a very useful introduction. Heartfield produced some of the most powerful anti-fascist propaganda in the 1920s and 30s, mainly for the German Communist Party. His photomontages were widely featured in their magazines and papers - so his work wasn't hidden away in galleries but widely seen by working class people. As Heartfield himself said, *"Use photography as a weapon."*

Born in Berlin, 1891, his real name was Helmut Held which he changed to the English 'John Heartfield' in 1916 as a protest against the German Nationalism that was rife during the First World War. This was when he first met George Grosz, another well-known anti-fascist artist, and they worked together for many years. Involved with 'political' art in the Dada group, they both joined the Communist Party on its foundation.

In 1933, after Hitler took power, Heartfield's work was banned and he fled to Czechoslovakia, and subsequently to England after the Nazis tried to extradite him in 1938. In England he was fairly isolated, (and briefly interned) and finally returned to 'East' Germany in 1950. Once there it was Bertolt Brecht who helped him get established again, but he received little official recognition. The upsurge in political activity in the 60s saw his work reach a new audience, mainly in Western Europe, but he died of a heart attack in 1968.

The book is illustrated with over 100 examples of his work and a commentary runs through the book providing some background information.



"30th June 1934: Heil Hitler", 1934. The night the BrownShirts copped it.



"Don't be frightened, He's a Vegetarian." 1936



"Camouflage. After the failure of nationalist propaganda with the working class, Goebbels induces Hitler to wear Marx's beard when addressing the workers.", 1934



AFA Benefit The Specials and Ska Boom Mosquito Coast, Leicester

Thanks to the continued support of Skaboom, Leicester AFA were delighted to secure the services of The Specials to headline their annual summer ska fest. Ticket sales soon went rapidly and it became obvious that the 700 capacity venue would only just accomodate everyone. On the day around 100

people had already been waiting outside the gig a full half hour before the venue opened. When the doors opened the place began to fill with a lively crowd. With the presence of AFA security it was apparent any fascists around would do well to stay away.



Skaboom were first up and ripped into an excellent set. The dancefloor was soon packed with people getting down to their familiar ska beat. After a brief pause The Specials hit the stage with everything they had. Delivering a powerhouse of a set with all the classics intact and sounding as good as ever. 'Too Much Too Young', 'Night Club', 'Concrete Jungle' all done without let up.

Along with this the AFA stall did a roaring trade, running out of Fighting Talks and receiving a hundred and fifty pounds in donations. New contacts were made and some useful information came our way. Leicester AFA would like to thank all the bands involved and all the people who turned up and supported us for a great night.

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NE AFA's own DJ warmed up the crowd with a selection of ska classics from the

60s to the 90s until the Newtown Grunts kicked off their brand of punk mayhem mixed with a touch of ska and a lot of friendly banter. The crowd loved them as the enthusiasm of those dancing down the front clearly showed.

Another selection of ska classics held the crowd's attention although they clearly wanted more live sounds. It wasn't long before their patience was rewarded with a powerful set of crowd pleasers from Sunderland's grandfathers of punk - Red London. Fronted by possibly the scariest looking skinhead in the UK the veterans performed with more energy and power than any of the current crop of punksters. The crowd loved every second of what is rumoured to have been the last chance to hear such a classic Red London performance as they plan to move on to more recent material in the future.

The night was a great success for AFA as the best response the fascists could muster was a few scribbled NF logos on a couple of posters weeks before the gig. Considering the numbers who came to support the gig, the Fascists showed a rare (for them!) sense of intelligence in deciding to stay away. Thanks must go to the venue, the bands and everyone who supported NE AFA.

An Introduction To
anti-fascist forum
Information
Research
Analysis

An Introduction To ANTI-FASCIST FORUM

This brief but well produced introduction to AFF explains the reasons behind building a militant anti-fascist movement in North America.

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For further information write to:
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An Introduction To
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Anti FASCIST ACTION

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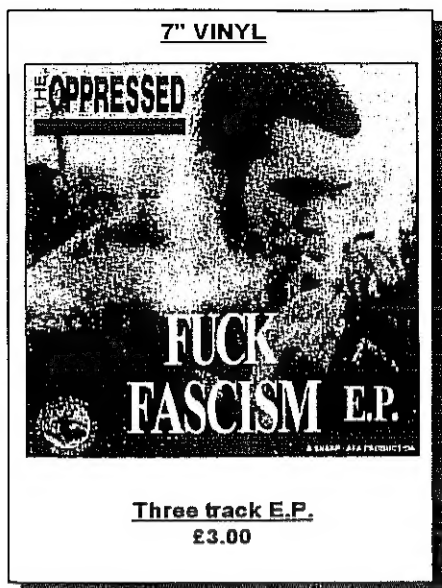
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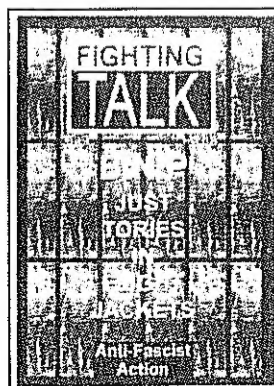
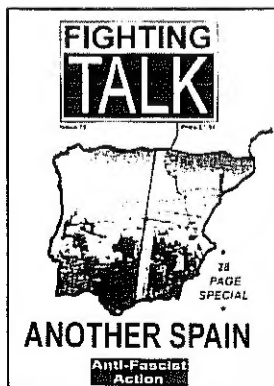
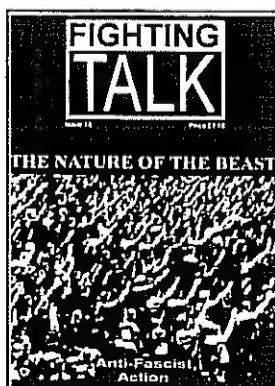
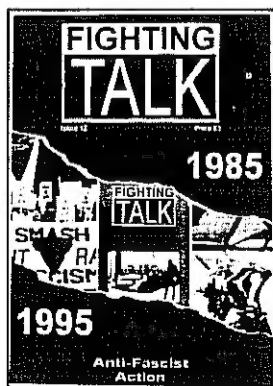
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